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Union Pursued;

IN

A Letter to Mr. Baxter,

Concerning his Late Book of

National Churches.

PUBLISHED

For a fuller Disquisition about this Subject, by the Sober and Composed of all Sides, in order to *Comprehension* which hath been Forming, and a *Larger Constitution* of the Church to be Formed, when that Day of Concord comes, which the gentle Aspect of Heaven in GOD's Appointment (and the *King's*) of so many Choice Moderate Bishops together at this Time does preface to the Nation.

That the *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, that have United within themselves, may Both be United also with the *Church of England*.

By a Lover of Him, and Follower of Peace.

Μακάριοι οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοί, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ὑποὶ θεῷ κληθήσονται.

L O N D O N,
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A

Letter to Mr. Baxter,

Concerning his Late BOOK of

National Churches.

Reverend Sir,

HAVING read your Sheets of *National Churches*, which Subject I am much pleased with, and concern'd, in Regard to the Publick: I cannot but desire you, who have a more distinct Knowledge of these things than I, to endeavour to clear to me this Matter a little farther than you have.

Your Notion of a *National Church* to be all one with a *Christian Kingdom*, and to be of *Divine Institution*, is New as I take it. That it is the Duty of Nations, Magistrate and People, to become Christians, and that King and People should meet in fit Assemblies for the Worship of the True God and His Son, and live as Christians, there is no body can doubt: But that all such Particular Congregations should combine into one Polity, or be Unifed in a *National Church*; this is, as I think, another Business.

There are two things belong to a *Polity*, the *Constitution* and the *Administration*. A Polity must be first Constituted, that is, An Order of *Superiority* and *Subjection* agreed upon by a *Community*, (which implies a Union for Government) before it

be Governed according to *that Order*, which is the *Administration*. A *Community* is (with Politick Writers) but the *Matter disposed* for the receiving a *Form of Government*, and a Kingdom turn'd Christian, (Head and Body) are in the first moment of Consideration no other than a *Community*. There must be a *Constitution* then made by that *Community*, a Constitution agreed upon by Magistrate and People for the Common Good, before they be a *National Church*. The *State* and *Church* are always distinguished, and the placing the Supreme Power of a *Common-wealth* in a *King*, or in the *Nobles*, or in the *People*, or in a Government that is *Mixt*, does not specify the Constitution of the *Church*. The Supreme Legislative and Judicial Power of the *One* and the *Other*, does not lye in the same *Subject*. I pray consider if it do; if it does, then must a *Christian Kingdom* and *National Church* be the same indeed; but if it do not, then must it be *otherwise* according to the best of my Apprehension, which I desire to be rectified where it is amiss, and shall not therefore enlarge, and be petulant on this Argument.

You seem to place the Being of a *National Church* onely in the having a King and People to be Christian, but I am apt to place it mainly (as to the Polity thereof) in that Combination of King and People in such an Order as is conducive to the Exercise of a *Government Ecclesiastical*, which is proper to it; which Order of Superiority and Inferiority, being diverse in diverse Nations, cannot be of Divine Appointment, because the Polity then ought to be the same in every Country. That which is of *God's Appointment*, cannot be varied by *Man*.

I am of the Opinion, That in *Scotland* they may do well in setting up the *Presbyterian Government*, and in *England* the *Episcopal*, and both Nations do for the best. Both be True *National Churches*, and acceptable to Christ. Now I cannot tell how to make so much Charity good, but by reckoning that *Polity* which is set up in Churches as *National*, to be left to the Liberty of Christian Governours, and consequently to be of *Human Institution*.

Suppose a Nation should be converted to Christianity by some *Independents*, and they set up their Independent Churches throughout the Land without other Government: Suppose

pose the King be of the same mind, and so joyns himself to one of these Congregations, as a Member, and believes that he is to leave all Ecclesiastical Government to such Pastors, and meddle not with it: I ask you, whether such a Kingdom be a National Church, or a National Ecclesiastical Polity, where there is no Order of Superiority and Inferiority for the exercise of any Government proper to it?

I ask, Whether the very *Quod sit*, or that there ought to be a Political National Government in every such Kingdom, by virtue of any Precept or Institution of Jesus Christ, can be made good? It is, I say, a Question, at least, in regard to *Independents*, Whether every King and People are bound to combine and agree upon the setting up any National Ecclesiastical Government at all, but rather leave the People to their particular Congregations and Pastors, independent on any Higher Power, for any other Ecclesiastical Government of Man, over them than that. Does the Scripture require farther than this?

I ask on, Suppose the *Quod sit*, What shall we do about the *Quid sit*? The *Scots* are for the *Presbyterian* Government, the *English* for the *Episcopal*; I cannot abide you should condemn either: How will you allow both, but by making a National Constitution indifferent? And how can it be indifferent, if it were not of Human Agreement? What may be granted to the one, and what to the other, and yet Christ's Command of National Churches (if there be any) be not transgressed, I must ask you as an harder Task.

Again, I must ask you about the *Catholic* Church. This is either *Mytical*, the Government whereof is only *Spiritual*, and I have no Question to ask about that: Or *Visible* (as they call it) the Government whereof is *External*. The *Catholic* Church *Visible* consists of Christ, as the Head, and all Professors, as the Body: These Professors make up Particular Congregations; these Congregations, or their Pastors, being confederated into Classes, or under *Diocesans*, till they come to a general Assembly, or a Convocation, arise into a National Church, independent on any foreign Jurisdiction. Now I must ask, That forasmuch as all the Churches on Earth can-

cannot be combined under any General Officers for the exercise of an *Oecumenical* Government, whether the *Catholick* Church on Earth be a Church *Political* ? That is, Forasmuch as there is no Confederation of Churches *National*, as there is, or may be of *Parochial*, *Diocesan*, and *Provincial*, for Government, upon which account you do readily disown a *Pope*, and *General Council* ; I ask, How can you make out a Polity *Oecumenical* ? I know you say it is a Church *Political*, because there is *Head* and *Body* ? But, How can any *Oecumenical* Polity, Ecclesiastical or Civil, be possible to Man ? Can a Society be *Political* before it be *Organical* ? And, Can the *Catholick* Church be so, being even quite incapable of any *Catholick* Officers, for executing such Jurisdiction ?

You say, the Head gives the Form to a Society ; but, Does it give the Form when there are no Organs or Officers for Government under that Head, when there are no such appointed by him, or can be made by Man ? It is true, that the actual making Officers belongs to the *Administration* of a Government, when the Government hath its Denomination, and is *Organical* from the *Constitution* : But, where is there any such Constitution declared by Christ, or Appointment of his, that there should be Organs made for an *Oecumenical* Government ? If there be no such, how is it a Polity without Government, without virtual or actual Government ; or an *Oecumenical* Polity without an *Oecumenical* Government ? This would tempt a man to come about towards our first Doctrine of *Protestants*, to deny any Church-*Catholick* but the *Invisible*. How can the Universal *Catus* of Christian People, dispersed through the World without *Legislative* or *Judicial* Power be *Political* ? Methinks there must be something else more than Head and Members essential to a *Form* of Polity, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical ?

I will tell you therefore over again the Opinion I am prone to, as well as I can. A *National* Church may be considered *Materially* as a Christian People or Kingdom, and so are *National* Churches of Christ's appointment out of doubt (as
at

at the beginning acknowledged) for He sent out his Officers to convert *Nations* rather than *single Men*; and the *Prophets* have many Places of the calling of *Nations*, whose Answer to that Call makes them Churches: But as a National Church is considered *Formally* in regard to the Constitution of divers particular Countries, as we say the Church of *England*, the Church of *Scotland*, and the like, a National Church is, and must be, (as it seems to me) of Human Agreement altogether.

I speak not this (I must farther say) to dispute with you, but to learn of you, or for Instruction; and in making this out, I cannot but, in my native apprehension, differ from you as to that which gives the Form, Being, or Essence to a Society Political; or, as to that which is the *ratio formalis* of a Nation, being a Church. You say, it is only the Head gives the Form; but I apprehend, That the Head and Members of any Society, considered as in a state before Organization for Regiment, are but still the *Master* of a Polity; but that which gives the *Form* to it, is Consent. If a Community, (let me say) should agree upon a Head, and not agree upon the Organizing that Head and Members, so as to be capable of Government, here is no Polity. Let me speak closer; When a King is Head of his People already, as They are a *Kingdom*, I cannot say he is a Head of them as a Church, before this Church be made *Organical* by a *Constitution*. Pray note that, and I say then, The Consent, Agreement, or Combination of the Community; the *Populus*, Head and Body, in such an Order for Government as is proper to it, is the *ratio formalis* in my Apprehension of that Society.

I know, that the Terms of *Matter* and *Form* (upon which I lay no stress) are proper to *physical* Beings; whereas a *Polity*, and such-like things, are not *Entia physica*, nor *Entia rationis*, but *Entia moralia*, and so need other Expressions; but when I have no better, and *Entia moralia ad analogiam physicorum concipiuntur*, I must say, That as it is *Consent* that makes a single man a Member of a Society, and does that which a *Form* does, to wit, give the *Being* and *Denomination*

nomination to him of a Member (*Forma dat esse & nomen*): So must the Universal Consent of Parts, to that Order of Superiority and Inferiority for Regiment, which is in any Society, give it its *Form*, and that Order be the *Form* or *Polity* itself, which consisting not only of Head and Members, but of Head and subordinate Organs for that Regiment, it is not the Head alone, but Head and Body so organized (the Head Principally indeed, but Jointly) that makes it a Political Society.

You may say, that I write here but scatteredly, as one that aims at saying something that may provoke you to set me right, rather than come my self to any perfect Determination; and I care not to have you think and judge so; for, though I would not put you to trouble willingly about any thing impertinent, yet do I expect so much more consideration, and farther light from you in the thing, as the weight of the Subject, and the concernment thereof, does require of him that undertook it.

The Head gives the Form, I express, as your Judgment. In one place of this Book, or that which came out with it, you say *The Head is the Form*; which seems to me *absorant*; In another place, you say, The Relative Union between the Head and Body, or the *pars imperans & subdita* is the Form, which sounds well: But the Conception is not so hard yet, *A Polity is an Order of Superiority and Subjection* (I have said) *in a Community*. The Community here is the Matter, and this Order is the Form. This is most plain; and forasmuch as this Form is introduc'd into the Community by their Agreement, while free, it is Consent which gives the Form, and is the Foundation (the *Fundamentum Relationis*) of all Societies.

And here, Sir, without interposition of the last Paragraph, I thought to break off, but my Mind, I feel, is not emptied. *A Christian Kingdom, containing Confederate Pastoral Churches, is a National Church* with you: But, what if there be no Confederacy, no such Consent or National Confederacy? Where is the Form that must give the Being and Denomination

nation of a National Church to such a Kingdom? Suppose a Company of Christians with Ministers among them, who preach and pray together, and yet are not *Confederated* in the Choice of any of them for a Pastor, and Officers for Government; Here is a Particular Worshipping Community, but no Political Society: So in a Kingdom, if a King and People be Christian, and they have Particular Churches, but no Confederacy of these Churches or Pastors, in an Order for National Government, here is an Ecclesiastical National Community, but no National Church: Here is a Government which is Civil by the *Sword*, but no Government Ecclesiastical by the *Keys*. There can be no *Keys* that are *National* I must say, but what are founded in this *Confederacy*, and consequently on *Human Institution*.

You may say, every King that is Christian, may allow of what Particular Churches he please, and command a Confederacy: But hold a little, Religion (the Fathers and Reason will tell us) cannot be forced. The *Church-Man* believes *Episcopal* Government to be *Jure Divino*; the *Presbyterian* thinks *his* to be so; the *Independent* thinks *their* Congregational Churches alone to be of Christ's Appointment, and cannot in Conscience submit to a Confederacy of the one Side or the other: How shall the King here command Consent or Confederacy to any one part, against the Conscience of the other? Thou shalt do nothing against thy Conscience, is a Precept of God and Nature, that binds *semper & ad semper* (as the Schools speak) being Negative: How then shall *Man* command what GOD forbids? He commands you to Confederate, and it is against your Conscience to do it. Hath he Power to command a Subject to sin? He hath Strength, or Force, or Legal Right, but hath he Authority to do it? To say how far the Supreme Majestrate may go in this Case, is not easie. I am sure a Man may easily be too hasty and sudden in such a Decision.

I must add, as what appears from that which went before; A *National Church* may be distinguished from a *Christian Kingdom*, because a People may be Christian before such a Confederacy: But when Confederated, and a Church, they are

the same indeed, so, as though *distinguished*, they cannot be *divided*. And this is the Right in my Apprehension.

To talk of *Dissenters, Presbyterians and Independents*, to be Members of the *Church of England*, as well as the *Conformists*, will not be born by the *Weak*: And the confounding the *Ecclesiastical* Government with the *Civil*, which your making a Kingdom and Church as Christian to be the same, does seem to do, will by the *Wise* be called into Question. When you say well, or speak at best, you must look for Misunderstanding and Clamour from the Displeased.

For my own part, how the Church *Universal*, whereof *Christ* is the *Head*, and *Particular* Churches, whereof the *Pastors* have Rule, are Churches of *Christ's* making, I do understand: But how far a *National* Church is of *Christ's* making, and how far of *Mans* making, I think requires a little more Explication from you, than we have yet. You are very exact as to *Civil* Government, to tell us what is of *GOD*, and what of *Man*: I remember not that you are so full as to *Ecclesiastical*.

And now let me tell you, lest I be mistaken as to those things I have asked before, that I have done so, not that I am in all of them of another mind from you, but for the clearing my less perspicacious Conceptions. For Instance, when I ask, Whether the Catholick Church Visible be Political? I must say I have receiv'd it to be so, and will give you my Account, that you may tell me if I am short. The Government of the Church Mystical, which is *Internal* by God's Spirit, is (I count) a Government, over single Persons (the *Elect dispersed*); His Operation is on single Persons: The Government of the Church Visible, which is *External*, is a Government of Churches, a Government of Persons as in Societies, Congregational, Diocesan, Provincial, National. And the Catholick Church Visible, is a Church (I count) *Political* and *Organical*, because all these Churches that are Parts of it, have their Governing Officers as well as the People Governed, contained in them. There is a Government therefore of a Society, *per Partes*, or *per Integrum*. The Catholick Church is a *Totum Integrale*, and is Governed *per Partes* only;

only; but yet by the Universal Laws of *Jesus Christ*, who is the Head of it alone, without any Oecumenical Vicarious *Sovereign*, Single or Collective under him, to give any other binding Laws than his; which both you and I equally decry. Whether there be any more than this to be Answered, is the end of my asking that Question of you, from whom I count if there be, I shall have it.

For the Case put by me of a Kingdom converted by *Independents*, it is my Opinion, That, in a Kingdom consisting only of Pastoral Churches, not associated into an Order of Superiority and Subjection for a Government of the *Whole* (or *per Integrum*) there can be only the *Materia* and *Privatio*, but not the *Forma* (which that Order introduced should be) of a *National Church*. And I must add, If it be enough that a King and People be Christian with Pastoral Churches, to make a Kingdom a National Church, then supposing the *Episcopal* or *Presbyterian* Government comes to be set up in it, here must be two National Churches in one Kingdom, for there was one before, and here is a New one, or another New constituted by Agreement. Pray pardon me my seeking from you more Illumination.

For your Proof of National Churches to be of Christ's Institution, from his own being King of the *Jews*, and Head of that National Church, and choosing *Twelve* Apostles in relation to their *Tribes*, and *Seventy* other, in relation to their *Sanhedrim*, with the Particulars you further mention, I confess what you offer to be very ingenious, and deep in fancy; but whether it be cogent or not, I do question. For,

First, Though Christ was born King of the *Jews*, as sprung from *David* by his Mother, yet would he not be their King, when the *Jews* would have made him.

Secondly, He tells expressly, *His Kingdom was not of this World*: Whereas the Government of Kings over Christian Kingdoms, and so Heads of National Churches, is no other than a Government *External*, or a Government which is of *this World*.

Thirdly, Christ is every where said in the *New Testament*, to be Head of his Church, in the Sense of the Church Uni-

versal, but never in the Sense of the Particular Church of the *Jewish Nation*: And the Prophecies of the *Old Testament* will admit, if not require by the Event, another Interpretation.

Fourthly, The Relation of the *Seventy* to the *Sanhedrim*, and of the *Twelve* to the *Tribes*, is a Relation only of Number, not of Work or Office; for, What is the *Seventy Disciples* preaching to convert the People, or preaching Repentance for remission of sins, to the business of the *Sanhedrim*, which was their Supreme Court of Judicature, for all Causes to be brought for Judgment? And, what was that Nations consisting of *Twelve Tribes* to the Choice of the *Twelve Apostles*, unless one might think, that Christ set over each Tribe one of them, to be Superintendent, or Bishop of that Tribe, which none Thinks as I Know.

Fifthly, Though the *Jews* had their *Twelve Tribes*, and Christ those *Twelve Apostles*, and they had *Seventy Elders*, and Christ chose out *Seventy* to preach the Gospel, this signifies not, (besides what is said already) unless you prove these two things, which can't be proved; to wit, That he chose these *Twelve* in relation to these *Tribes*, and these *Seventy* in relation to their *Sanhedrim*; and, Who can tell Christ's Intention? And also, That he did this by his Authority, as their King, as King of the *Jews*, or Head of the *Jewish Church*, when he might do it (and did it, we may suppose) as King or Head of the Church *Universal*? Indeed, if any shall say, that Christ, during his Life, was King only of the *Jews*, and that he had no Power therefore of commissionating his Apostles to go any where else for converting People, which is the making them Subjects of his Kingdom, because he was not King over any other Nation, till after his Death and Resurrection; and shall then confirm this by the proving that it was at his *Resurrection*, he was inaugurated into his Universal Kingdom, or made King over the *Gentiles*, or all Nations, as Heir of the World; That it was then, that God said to him, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*; and Christ askt of his Father, and he gave him the *Heathen* for his Inheritance, and the ut-
most

most ends of the Earth for his possession (compare *Acts* 13. 33, with *Psal.* 2. 7, 8.); That it was then, and not before then, that he received all power in Heaven and Earth, (as he tells his Disciples, *Mat.* 28. 18.) and by virtue of that Power, commissioned the Apostles to go and disciple all Nations. If any can distinguish thus, There was a Kingdom Christ was Born to (*Mat.* 22. *Job.* 18. 37.) which is the Jewish Kingdom, as being of the Line of David. And there is a Kingdom which is Given him as the Son of Man, (*Dan.* 7. 14.) and which was Purchased by the Merits of his Life and Death, (*Luk.* 24. 26. *Phil.* 2. 8.) and consequently there must be a time when it was Received, and that must be after his Death and Resurrection upon that Account. I say now, if any stand upon this, and it be Truth (which whether it be or no I must still ask you) then is there the Access of some Light and Strength to your Notion : But that Christ Instituted a National Church Form, and that *Judaea* under *Constantine* was such a Church in the Execution, which are Two Chapters of your Book, I do not apprehend the Proof so convincing, but that they need both of them your second Thoughts, and farther Improvement.

That which affects me in these Papers more especially, is this one thing, that you shew so much candour and concession toward the present Church, but without fawning I must confess, and with no less serious Frame of Spirit (if I can judge) than *Augustine* wrote his *Retractions*. I do not know whether our Church-men, who are good, will refuse you any thing you offer as pious, as prudent, or as necessary to Communion : And, I think you have offered and conceded enough to the laying a Ground for both Parties, when GOD and a Parliament shall see it good, to come to an Accommodation.

I will give an Example of what I say to my Reader out of the Fourteenth Chap. of your Book, where you have these words. *The National Church of England is rightly Constituted under one supreme Royal Government, as the Unifying*

ing Head. It is duly Constituted of professed Baptized Christians, and Churches as the Subject Matter. It hath National Laws which profess their Subserviency to the Law of Christ, and the Nullity of all that is against it. It maketh none Magistrates but professed Christians, no nor Burgesse, and Choosers of Magistrates. It hath Diocesans, that are general Overseers of many particular Churches, as successors to the Apostles and Evangelists, in the Ordinary parts, of their Office. It justly maketh Bishops Members of Parliament, it being unfit to make Laws for Religion without the Pastors notice and advice. It justly giveth large maintenance, and honours to the Superior Clergy, that they may be a protection to the Inferior, and a relief to the poor, and keep up Religion from the contempt and scorn of Wordly Men. The King is the just Donor of such Honours and Revenues. The Parish Ministers according to the true Legal Reformed Church of England, are acknowledged true Pastors, as to all the Essentials of the Pastoral Office, Word, Sacraments, Keys, Discipline, and Ordinations. The Inferior Ministers in Tythes and Glebe, have a landable maintenance. All Parishes are to distinguish Communicating Members from Non communicating Inhabitants, and to refuse the scandalous and unconfirmed, not ready or desiring Confirmation. And the Offices of Absolution, and Burial, are sited to the faithful, were Discipline executed. Yet our Law for Dissenters Assemblies, acknowledgeth them all true Members of the Church of England, who agree in the Essentials, notwithstanding their dissent in lesser things. We use one and the same Translation of Scripture, and we all renounce all Human, Universal, Foreign Jurisdiction, These things, and all these, you approve as commendable, and when you concede so much to the Bishops, what is it you require of them? Why nothing, but that Reformation in effect only of some things, which they themselves, as to the main, do seek also; and what Ingenuity more than this, could be expected from any? It is Peace I perceive you would have, but Holiness more; and when the world lyes in wickedness, if you have peace, you must be content with so much holiness as can be had. You must not expect that National Churches (though
you

you will have them *Jure Divino*) should be as Holy, as the select people of your Gathered Congregations.

Sir, I am sensible what need we have of Discourses, that are bending to one another, while such Divisions are got within our bowels, as are like to eat our Religion quite out. One would wonder to see sometimes two friends, that agree so well otherwise, as both to go to Church, both are for the same Liturgy, both are for the present King, and ready rather to dye than admit of Popery, and yet being rankt into a diverse sort of Companions under the names of *Whig* and *Tory*, there is a secret Animosity and Unkindness grows within, if no open fire of contention break out, as if they were born enemies. Do but ask one or the other, what is the matter between you, or what is the meaning of these names, *Guelph* and *Gibeline*, that divide you, they can say nothing, but themselves are astonished. There is nothing but that the *Tares* are sown in mens hearts by the *Evil one*, while they are not aware, is the cause of it: And there is nothing but the love of God, and our Neighbour which is the effect of Gods spirit, with an *Act* of Parliament for *Union* (which must begin that work) like to be the cure of it. It was one of the deepest fetches of the Popish Plot, through *Liberty* to destroy *Agreement*: And to come to *Agree* now, and preserve *Indulgence*, is the only way to be even with them.

As the design therefore of your Papers, which is National Concord, is according to my hearts desire, and I should be glad to farther it to my utmost: so must I take notice more particularly of one Concession of yours, to wit of the Divine right of Bishops, which others of your brethren will by no means grant. There is the *Episcopus gregis*, the Ordinary Overseer of the flock; The *Episcopus Praeses*, where there are several Prebyters in one Congregation; And besides these you are for a *Superiour* sort of successors to the *Apostles* and *Evangelists*, of Divine institution. Such Diocesans that put not down Particular fixed Pastors, or such Diocesses as Unchurch not our Parishes, are not impugned by you. I am perswaded now that the most of our present Bishops will allow.

low you, that their Diocesses are not Churches *infima speciei*, but that every Parochial Congregation of Pastor and People, are true Political Churches, and that the Ministers Office is to *Rule*, as well as to *Teach*, though as to the *Exercise* of that part of their Office it is provided by the Church, that they should be under the conduct of a Bishop, as the Presbyterians provide that they be under the conduct of a *Classis*, for which there are weighty reasons, so long as the Government of the One is but cumulative, not destructive to the Other. And so long as you will admit that the King may make such a Diocesan (like a *Quorum Jus*) to have a Negative voice in Ordinations, there is very little for ought I see wanting but a Conference to reconcile you and them together.

For my own part, I must confess, I am not so easie in allowing a Diocesan or Metropolitan, no, nor a National Church where the King is made an Ecclesiastical Formal Head, any otherwise, than I would a Vicar-General, if it pleases the King, which is by *Law*, not by *Divine institution*. What is more known, than that our Kings of *England* never were Heads of the Church, till *Henry the Eighth*, who was made so by an Act of Parliament? I like well a National Church; That the Supream power be Head thereof; That Bishops and Archbishops do stand (upon the Terms you here propose) as Prudential, and even Necessary in the state we are in: but not as if God had commanded it so, and it might be no otherwise. There is a distinction here therefore, that is needful, and you have it not. I cannot tell well how to express it, but *Grotius*, I remember, does make it in apt Terms upon some other Argument. It is to this sense, Between a *Divine Warrant*, and a *Divine Precept*; a *jus Divinum* as *justum* onely, or as *justum*. We may have a sufficient warrant or ground from Scripture to do a thing, as Anologous to it, and yet the Scripture not command it to be done so as that we sin if it be forborn upon good human reason. The case is so here about Episcopacy. There is warrant from Christs sending out *Twelve*, and then *Seventy*; From Gods setting in his Church, *Apostles*, *Evangelists*, *Pastors*; From
Paul's

Paul's sending *Timothy*, and *Titus* with charge over the Presbyters at *Ephesus* and *Crete* ; From the general Rules of *Order*, *Decency*, *Edification* ; I say there is warrant from *Scripture*, upon these accounts, for a Superiority, and Inferiority among the Clergy, so as it is lawful, wheresoever it be conducive to the Publick good of the Churches of God, to set up Presbyterian *Classes*, or *Episcopal* Government, placing a Diocesan over a Pastor, an Archbishop over a Diocesan, a Vicar General over the Provinces, and the King the Head (as a Mixed person) over all, so constituting the National Church, or Church of *England* : but I cannot say that this is of *Divine appointment*. And then I pray moreover, what Head ! An Ecclesiastical Formal Head as you say ? No, but to speak exactly, A King of a Christian Kingdom is no *Caput Ecclesie quæ Ecclesie*, till Constituted so ; and when he is, he is not a Head Formally Ecclesiastical, but a Head Objectively Ecclesiastical onely, and in that respect (as *Episcopus τῆς Ἐκκλ.*, a Mixed Person. I would grant the Bishops to be *jure Divino* to please the Church-men) so far as warrantable by *Scripture*, upon the accounts mentioned, provided they be, as the Higher Powers judge, best for the Land : but (to do Justice to others) I deny them to be *Ex precepto Divino*, so far as that all Nations are bound to have them, or that they may not choose some other Order of Superiority and Inferiority, for Government, as serves best the condition of Each People. God may *Allow*, or approve of an Order that is made, or a thing when done, which Order he does not *Command* to be made, or thing to be done.

I hear lately that the *Dissenters* have had several Meetings, in order to a right understanding with one another, and that the *Presbyterians*, and *Independents* are come to Terms, drawn up for a mutual Coalition. This is a good hearing, and very happy, if it may, by any means, but tend to the strewing the way to that more Publick, and generous Concord, which seems the Design of your Sheets ; that is, for bringing these Concordant Dissenters, and the Church-men also, *Conformist* and *Non-conformist*, the Christians of all sorts, that are but Tolerable, into the Unity of one Ecclesiastick

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Political

Political Society of the whole Nation, combined for Government within it self, Independent on any Forraign Jurisdiction. This is a Design worthy of your farther Study, and there is one of your brethren ready to learn more of you, that hath Offered something to this Effect several years since, and repeated it; who concurring with you in his Endeavour for the setting up a National Church, and submission to the Bishops upon that account, yet dare not yield to you in making the Bishops, or National Church either, to be of Divine Institution, for this reason; because he thinks if he should do so, he must destroy that National Union at one blow, which he and you are labouring to build. For do but ask these sober Dissenters, whether they can own a Supremacy in the King, as to Ecclesiastical affairs, they will grant it. Mr. Bradshaw long since hath wrote, *A Protestation of the Kings Supremacy*. If you ask them then, whether we are bound to be Subject to such Officers as he shall appoint by Law for the executing this Authority, they must grant it likewise; for if they allow the one, the other is yielded. Let us suppose now that the Bishops, and Archbishops of our Land were such Officers, Officers of the Church as National, made by the King for fulfilling his Charge as Head of it, and there is no Presbyterian or Independent, that I know, would or could deny submission to them under such a Notion: But if you will impose upon them any Bishop as Christs Officer, that is, one having a Diocesan Government over them by his appointment, or, if you will make a National Church Governed by these Bishops, to be of Divine right strictly taken, there is many, and the most of them will reclaim presently, they cannot own any such matter, and so this National Union, and the design thereof is broken. I pray therefore consider what you do.

We must distinguish of what is *Necessary*, and what is *Convenient*; and of what is so, in regard to a Conjunction with the *Bishop*, or in regard to the more general Uniting into a *National Church*. If the Presbyterians were to come to a Composition with the Bishops, and could say with you, My Lords! If you will challenge to your Function no more Rule than

than what the Apostles exercised in the Ordinary part of their Apostleship, that is, a Superiour Directive Authority over other Pastors in the executing their Office, without destroying the *Power* it self given them by Christ, we will acknowledge your Episcopacy to be *Jure Divino*, there is no doubt but this were a Concession highly *Convenient*, or conducive to this end ; for I do apprehend (as I have said) our present Bishops are of that moderation, as they would straight yield to it, and agree with them : But I must say, not *Necessary*, because a submission alone to their Government, is enough without conceding so much to them ; when, as to the higher End of National Concord, it is neither necessary, nor convenient, but inconvenient, as conducive to the excluding multitudes out of it, and if it be stood upon, to destroy it.

Sir, since I wrote this, I have thought good to read over your book again, and I will say something more, as if I were to begin afresh, for there are Persons of Quality and of Parts, several that favour the Dissenters, who do entertain your Notion of a National Church, and Bishops *Jure Divino* (taking your meaning in the strict, not my large sense before) with indignation, looking on it as a building what you have destroyed in your former books, and not with the indifferency of Spirit as I do, who look on it as an Explanation of those books, whether this *Jure Divino Point* be right or no.

Your Title is, *Of National Churches*. A National Church may be considered *in genere*, or *in specie*. Of a National Church *in genere* I will account that you have spoken. Of a National Church, *in specie*, I would have you count that you are yet to speak, if you can say any more, and I to give you the Occasion. *A National Church in genere is a Christian Kingdom constituted of a Christian Sovereign Magistrate, and of Christian Subjects, Worshipping God ordinarily in True Particular Pastoral Churches*. This is the first Paragraph of your Book, and the Subject of your Discourse, which you maintain ; And that which you have said, being not as I know by any before said, and of such consequence, as it is, to be said, is, I will say, in my Opinion, so Generously said, that

I cannot but be pleased with it. A National Church, say you, is a *Christian Kingdom*, Right, in *genere* it is so. A National Church therefore is of *Divine Institution*. Right again, in *genere* it is so; There is no question but God commands all Nations, Kings, and People, to be Christians. But we must proceed farther, we must not rest here, but come to the consideration of a National Church in *specie*, and to this purpose there is another Definition you have elsewhere, if it be another, which is this. *A Christian Kingdom containing Confederate Pastoral Churches is a National Church*. I cannot tell here whether you mean any more in this, than in that before, but there seems to me some farther light to have came into your mind, though perhaps you reflected not on it. For by this *Confederation*, you may either understand nothing but that Confederation, which is between the Pastor and Members of a Particular Church *within themselves*: or a Confederation of such Particular Churches *with others*. That is, the Confederation whereby a Particular People give up themselves to God (which the several branches of the Confederation that you instance in do but come to), and to *one another*, to walk together under the same Pastoral guidance: or the Confederation whereby diverse Particular Pastoral Churches, do Confederate for Union, under a Superiour Government for their greater common good. If you understand the last of these, then was you defective in what you said at first: If you do not understand the last but the first only, then are you defective as to that which should come mainly into consideration, which is the nature of a National Church (I say) in *specie*, as existing in the Constitution of Particular Kingdoms; unto which this Confederation in the last sense is not only Necessary but Essential, and to be put into the Definition thereof, as without which, there can be no rightly constituted, Particular National Church in the World. We loose our labour to speak of National Churches in the Universal Notion, unless we bring the Application down to the Particular National Church in our own Land, as you know. This therefore we must stand upon.

In *Scotland* the *Presbyterian* Government is settled. In *England* the *Episcopal*. The King is Head of both Nations. If the Head alone now were the Form of a National Church, then must there be but one Form of the Church of *England* and *Scotland*, (I mean not one *Numerical* Form, which doubtless follows not, but one *Specific* Form) because the Head is but One. But, the Form of a *Presbyterian National Church*, and the Form of an *Episcopal National Church* are distinct Forms, and do distinguish and specify two Churches. The Form of the Church of *Scotland* is that Order of Superiority and Subjection, whereby the Parish-Churches, and Ministers there, are subject to their *Classes*, and those *Classes* to higher, till they come up to a *National Assembly*: The Form of the Church of *England* is that Order of Superiority and Subjection whereby the Parochial Ministers and their Flocks are subject to the *Diocesan Bishops*, the *Bishops* to the *Archbishop*, in regard to which, several *Parishes* do make one *Diocese*, and several *Diocesan Churches* one *Provincial* one, and the two *Provinces* with the *King* make the *Church National*. This Order is the Form of these Churches, and the Form essentiate them: It is not therefore for any to think, that a Man can be a Member of either of these Churches, who comes not into their Established Order. A man cannot be of the *Scottish Church*, but he must submit to their *Presbyteries*. A man cannot be of the Church of *England*, but he must own *Episcopacy*; he must own it so far, as to submit to their Government. To go to build up a National Union without this Confederation, explicit or implicit, is verily but gathering *Sand* for the building, and putting no *Lime* to it. And, this let me say, with all due respect, and without offence, is that which you are doing, and can but do, by making our *Bishops* and our Church (if you intend so) to be of Divine Institution, when the generality of the Dissenters can hereunto yield no Confederation.

In your behalf therefore do I distinguish of both these things, of a *National Church*, and of *Episcopacy*, in *genere* & in *specie*. In *genere*, in *genere* indefinito a *National Church*, in *genere* indefinito an *Episcopacy*, are of Divine Appointment: But when we come to the consideration of *National Churches* in *specie*, in *specie*

Specie definita, as they exist in the *Constitutions* of several Countries, made by Men, and of Episcopacy in *specie*, as existing in our Church of England, I will suspend my Belief of your saying so (the Matter being so apparent otherwise in the mention of it), seeing he that says it, does no Service really to the Church (the Bishops that are wise, if they be obeyed as Established by Law, caring little for that), but Disservice in this respect, that the Dissenters, by this means, if the thing be stood upon, shall not be able to come into it: Which we must take heed of, as already noted, especially now, when the present Face of things look auspicious towards Union.

There are some things *Essential* to the Church of England, and some things *Accidental*; and there are some things that are the Abuses and *Corruptions* of it.

For the last of these, the *Corruptions*, there was a Paper came out (and as I apprehended, from Lambeth) some few years since, entituled, *Grievances of the Church of England, which are not in the power of the Governours of it to remedy*. Two of the many I will name, *One* this; That the Ecclesiastical Power is by Law invested in Lay-Chancellors and Officials, who act in the name of the Bishop and Archdeacon, when things are against their Wills, and they cannot help it. The *other* this; That a *Convocation* cannot take any of these *Corruptions* into debate, to reform them without danger of a *Premunire*, unless they be first proposed by the King. Under these *Grievances*, and such as these, does the Church her self, or the Bishops themselves, we see, groan; and that for this Reason (which I observe), because her Government being only what is established by Law, (so much is he out that goes to make it of Divine Right) the Governours of it (or the Bishops) can alter nothing, but by Act of Parliament; who yet being themselves Members, we may well conceive they will endeavour to find a time for their own Relief; and I do more especially hope, that the *Reduction* of Archbishop Usher will be taken into their consideration upon that account.

For

For things *Accidental* to the Church, I do presume much more on the good Temper and Resolution of the present Bishops, that nothing of that kind shall stand in the way, but they will part with it for Concord. Of these *Accidentals*, some are of easier, some of harder departure: Of the easier sort I reckon the *Ceremonies*, which I do not see but they may part with, and with no more Grievance, than with the Rain from off their Hats, or the Grease from off their Cloaths. As for the harder sort, if the Dissenters should require of the Bishops to forgo the Liturgy, and use none, this were too hard, this were a kind of thrust at the Churches Breast, and She might justly bid a man stand off. If they are not against a Liturgy, but would have a new one composed in Scripture-Expressions, I cannot say but this were good, inexceptionably good, but not to be asked unless they see good; as being more than is meet, and more than needs. If it be a Reformation then only they desire, let it be in all things which are offensive to any sober (not humourfome) godly persons; this is but so fair, so honest, so fit, that the Bishops are before-hand in it, and if any are for farther Improvement, this they are for also.

For things *Essential* to the Church of *England*, such as Episcopal Government is, it is not for any to imagin the Church should part there with, for then she must cease to be the Church of *England*. And consequently, unless a way be made out for the Dissenters, conscionably in some regard as they may, to submit to that Government, there can be no Coalition into a National Church; which yet is the End both of your, and my Writing.

There have been two Things long on the Hearts of peaceable men, as requisite to the Happiness of the Kingdom, and they were foreseen therefore and intended by His present Majesty, as one End of his *Expedition into England*; which was, as he tells us in his *Declaration* (for they are best expressed in his words) for the making such Laws as may establish a good Agreement between the Church of *England* and Protestant Dissenters; as also, for the covering all such who will live peaceably under the Government from all Persecution upon the account of their Religion.

tigion. The one of these (called generally *Indulgence*) is obtained; the other (*Comprehension*) is yet under expectation, but no less needful to the Interest of the *King* and *Bishops*, than that was to the Interest of the *Dissenters*. A *Kingdom*, a Church, divided so much against it self as ours is, a Blessed Mouth hath foretold them, is not a safe Estate, and does in effect say to both, *Look to your selves*.

It is therefore hugely material, in regard to the end of these *Sheets* and to the *Title*, to speak a little of the Contents of that said Bill which will be revived at the sitting of this Parliament, or of another in good time, I doubt not. After a short Preamble then, this Bill goes downright honestly to work, (and for that reason it can never be too much prized) enacting, That no other Oath, Subscription, or Declaration be required to the enjoying any Ecclesiastical Preferment, but the New Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy to the King and Queen, the Antipapal Test, the Simoniacal Oath, and one Declaration to be subscribed to this sence or purpose, (the words whereof being put too readily together (as some of them that put them will perhaps acknowledg upon reflection) I would humbly beg may be deliberately put in these ensuing) *I A. B. do heartily approve of the Reformation of the Church of England in her Doctrin and Worship, as containing all things in their kind sufficient to Salvation: And I submit to the Government thereof by Law established.*

The Bill proceeds to the *Ceremonies*, enacting the leaving off the *Surplice*, excepting in the *Cathedrals*, and leaving the *Cross* in Baptism, and *Kneeling* at the Sacrament to the liberty of the *Parent* and *Receiver*, with some the like things, I think but have forgot, that have no Rubin them. Only the great difficulty lying about *Orders*, I cannot but, upon Examination of other Expedients, give my full Consent to the Motion of the *Bishops* themselves, as to this case, provided they be careful of the words wherein they express it, which I beg again may be thus:

Be it farther enacted, That those Ministers who have been ordained since the First of *May*, in the Year 1660, by *Presbyters* only, shall receive a second Imposition of Hands by a *Bishop*

shop

shop in this form. *For thy Reception, as a Minister in the Church of England, and thy holding and exercising that Office to the satisfaction of the Conscience of others as well as thy own; If thou beest not Ordained already, be thou Ordained; If thou beest, be thou Confirmed, by the Imposition of my Hands, to the Glory of God, and Edification of the Church, in the place where thou art, or shalt be called.*

These words [*If thou beest not Ordained already*] do include a doubt. The Minister himself Ordained by Presbyters (I will suppose) doubts not in the least of the Validity of his Orders by them, and he cannot submit to these words (if they were put alone) in regard to his *own* Conscience: But, forasmuch as the Bishop perhaps, or others with whom he is concerned, may doubt of it, these words (as thus conjoined) may be spoken *bona fide*, in regard to *theirs*, without any Lye, Dissembling or Equivocation. Neither is there any Adjustment that can atone both sides, besides this; for, the Minister ordained before receives no diminution to his Ministry hereby, seeing he yields to no more than this, and the Unsatisfied with his Ministry already can be satisfied with no less than this. If the Bishop should only *Admit* a man to the *Exercise* of his Ministry in the *Church of England*, the *Spiritual Power* received already *acknowledged*; this indeed would serve the *Minister*, but not the *Bishop*, or *those* that doubt it: If any thing be done that implies the denial of the *Power*, it is against the Conscience of the Minister, but when the *Power* is not *Denied* nor *Granted*, neither are offended, but both accommodated as much as need be, and that is enough. If the man be shocked at such a Supposition [*If thou beest not Ordained*] he must be set right again at those words that follow, [*If thou beest, be thou confirmed*] and consequently, in regard there are really in many places several truly pious People, that believe a man no Minister unless Ordained by a Bishop, and so scruples his baptizing their Children, and the receiving the Sacrament of him, the *Nonconformist Minister* that shall be comprehended by this *Act*, will be bound, in point of Conscience, for the satisfaction of such as may be of his Parish, (*Conscience I say, not thy own, but*

of the others) to the yielding to any the like thing as this (which is not sinful) that his Ministry may *run and be glorified*, and receive no Obstruction upon that account.

At the end of the Bill there was a Clause for appointing some Bishops and Doctors of the Church to that healing work, for which the King after gave a Commission; and in the renewal of the same therefore, I would beg lastly, that this Clause may be put as near as may be, into these words following.

And, Forasmuch as the Excellent Government of the Church by Bishops, as it was Reformed and Established in Edward the Sixth and Q. Elizabeths days, is to be still upheld, and several things in regard to the Books of the Liturgy, and Ordering Priests and Deacons, and the Ecclesiastical Constitutions; and in regard to the Exercise of Discipline, and otherwise, do require Redress, Reduction and Improvement: In order whereunto it pleased the King to grant a Commission to certain Bishops and Doctors of the Church, who have made some progress therein: Be it enacted,—— That these Commissioners shall be hereby authorized to call or convene half a dozen of the grave and moderate Nonconformist Ministers, who, upon consultation with their Brethren, shall peruse what these Commissioners have prepared, and offer to the said Commissioners in Writing whatsoever they desire farther, in reference to Concord, and when these Commissioners have considered thereof, and perfected the whole, as themselves see meet, they shall present it to His Majesty, to be communicated to a Convocation or Parliament, when and how it shall seem best to his most excellent Wisdom.

There are two sorts, according to His Majesty's Declaration before mentioned, of Protestant Dissenters; *One* that own the established Ministry, the Liturgy, and our Parish-Churches: The *Other* that do not, or cannot own them. For those that cannot, they cannot be comprehended, and their Case being considered, they have Liberty granted; they must not be knock'd on the Head. For those that can, their Case is to be considered likewise, and if this Bill without altering any more than thus (Tho' if any man would know all things to perfect it, he may find them in one, drawn purposely up, in that little Book called *The Samaritan*) be brought into the House;

House; so that it pass with the Grant but of those few things which are contain'd in it, together with empowering the aforesaid Commissioners unto this farther business for remedy of more, there is so much obtained herein, as is manifestly conducive to this end of *Comprehension*; which would be, I count, a blessed Ground for present Peace, as a happy sort of *Interim*, till time brought forth something farther to perfection. But both these *Acts*, that for *Indulgence*, and this for *Comprehension* (if the last come also into an *Act*) are yet but *Scaffolds* (tho' so much needful) in order to this greater Work, the building up such a Church, as may be capacious both of the *Indulged* and *Comprehended*, to live together with the Churchmen as fellow-Members of the same Society Political in the enjoyment of the common Peace and Religion of Jesus Christ, that so *God may be one, and his Name one*, throughout the Nation; I will add such a Church, as being compacted within its self, and strenghtened with such a Union, it may be the Glory of our *Friends*, and *Impregnable* against our *Enemies*.

A *Magna Charta* to this effect in the Reign of the present King, which was but spoken of, and feared, under the *last*, would indeed do our business. If there be any Protestant Lawyer so deliberate and wise, as to be able to digest so great a matter, he may do well to read Mr. *Lawson's Politica*, who, in one Chapter of the *Extent of a Particular Church*, goes to prove how easily the Multitude of Christians in one Nation associated and subjected to one Supreme Judicatory, may be ordered, even as a single Independent Congregation may; and he hath many clear things upon it, as a man of excelling Skill in that study.

Sir, I am sensible how much the publick, and how little your own private Advantage does concern you, and therefore I humbly conjure you, or beseech you, to take this matter into second thoughts, because it is one and the same thing as to the main, must be thought over, and beat upon, to bring any matter to the maturity of doing good; and, the Lord knows whether there be, or be not, any such kind of Good in the Womb of Providence for this Land. There was a Sheet, or Half-sheet came out a good many years ago under the Ti-

tle of *Materials for Union*, which were revised and put out again more lately under the Title of *A Draught for Accommodation*; that is, National Union, National Accommodation. If you have read it already, it is so much the better, because then your Thoughts will be the more prepared to do what I desire of you; that is, to read over the same again with some deeper Animadversion, not barely to confute it, or some things in it, which is a little Work any other body can do, but to take it into consideration, so as to examin what is well as what is amiss, to approve as to disprove, to add what is wanting as to lop what is unfit; that is, to read it over, not for *destroying* but *edifying*; or to look it over, as you would the Trees in your Garden, to pluck off the *Snails*, but to cherish the *Buds*, because there is, or there may be for ought you know, a *Blessing* in them. I do think fit to write this Letter on purpose that I may send with it the Paper mentioned, look'd again over, and improved, to that end. And I pray God to direct your Thoughts and Labours still, that you may so *prove all things, as to hold fast that which is good.*

The Draught.

WHereas there are several Parties of Christians in the Nation, who must and will ever differ in their Opinions about the Church and Discipline of it in the Question which is of Christ's Institution, it is not our Disputes about the Church as particular (which are rather to be mutually forborn, and every Party left herein to their own Perswasion) but a common Agreement in what we can agree, and that is in the Church as National, must heal our Breaches.

The

The Catholicks are for one Universal Organical Church throughout the World, whereof the Pope is Head, according to some, and the Bishops conven'd in a General Council, according to others.

That there is a Catholick Church visible on Earth, as well as invisible, whereof Christ is Head, who was on Earth, and is now visible in Heaven, is received also by Protestants: But, that this Church is *per integrum Organical*, and under the Government either of a *Monarchy* by the Pope, or of an *Aristocracy* by a *General Council*, it seems a thing not possible in Nature, because neither can an *Oecumenical Council* ever be called, nor any one man be sufficient to take on him the Concernments of the *World*.

A Political Church is a Community of Christians brought into an Order of Superiority and Inferiority, by an Head and Members organiz'd for the Exercise of that Government which is proper to it: But the whole Earth is not capable of any such Order: And Councils therefore which are gathered out of several Countries, or of Bishops belonging to more Dominions than of one Supreme Power, may be had for mutual Advice and *Concord*, but not for *Government*.

A Nation, Empire, or Kingdom which consists of one Supreme Magistrate and People, who are generally Christians, are capable of such an Ecclesiastical Polity, and a National Church Political in *England* is to be asserted and maintained.

The *Church of England* then is a Political Society of all the Christians (Conforming or Tolerated) in the Land, united in the King as Head, and organized by the Bishops, for the executing those Laws or Government which he chuses for their Spiritual Good and Publick Peace.

There is this difference between a Church *National*, the Church *Catholick*, and *Particular Churches*: The two latter are of *Divine Right* and *Essential* Consideration, but the former is of *Human Institution*; for, it is manifestly *Accidental* to the Church of Christ, that the whole People should be *Christian*.

Not

Not but it is the duty of all Nations, Kings and People to become Christians, *Go and teach all Nations Baptizing them*, and that Christian Kingdoms therefore as they consist of People that do meet in Particular Congregations for the worship of the True God, and Jesus Christ, and do exercise that Government, which the Pastor hath over his flock, by virtue of his Office from Christ, and no other than that, are of *Divine appointment* : But the Combination of these Churches, or the Pastors thereof in an Order of Superiority, and Inferiority for the Exercise of a Regiment, that is National over the whole body of the Kingdom, by setting Bishops in a Diocese, and an Archbishop in a Province, and then proceeding no farther as to a Patriarchat and General Council, but making a stop here, and Constituting the Nation thereby one Governing Church independent on any other from abroad ; this appears of no *Divine*, or *Canonical Right*, but must derive its Authority from an *Act of Parliament*.

Distinguish we here of the Government of the Church, as *Internal* belonging to the *Spirit*, and *External* which belongs to *Men* : And of the *External Regiment* thereof, which is either *Formal* belonging to the *Ministers*, or Officers of *Christ* ; or *Objective*, belonging to the *Magistrate*, so call'd because the matters of the Church in this respect, are the Object of his Civil Power : Whether the Community now of Christians in *England* may be united into a National Church under a pure Formal Government, we leave to others to dispute that will. But that the main Body of the Nation are, or may be constituted a proper Political Church National, under that Mix'd Regiment, which is both Formal and Objective, and so exercised by the Bishops, as the proper Organs thereof under the King (with Authority as *Bishops*, as *Ministers* without Force), is what we hold indisputable, and would lay as a Foundation-stone of Peace in the Matter of Religion, between all Persons in the Kingdom capable of it.

The Government of this Church is by *Bishops*, and if their Authority be not received and owned, so far as that the generality of the Nation, the *Nonconformists* as well as others, yield

yield to it, there can be no Union. Now, when the Government of the *Land* is a *Mixt* Government, as Politicians tell us on another account, why may not the Government of the *Church* be *Mixt* too upon this account, to wit, in that, as the *King* must be a *Mixed Person* to be *Head*, the *Bishops* must be *Mixt Persons* too to be his *Officers*; *Mixt Persons* in regard to the exercise of both this *Objective* and *Formal* Regiment, deriving the one from the *King*, as *over* other Ministers, and the other from *Christ*, as *Fellows* with them; that so those that scruple their Submission to them upon *one* account, may be satisfied upon *another*: which by and by will be explained.

Let the Parliament therefore we have, or any other, be heartily for the Publick Good and Thriving of *England*, which must be by an entire Liberty of Conscience in opposition to the narrow Spirit of any single Party or Faction, and when such a Parliament shall sit about the Business of Union to purpose, the Bill should be brought in, entituled, *An Act for declaring the Constitution of our Church of England*.

A Parliament is the Representative of the whole Nation, and no doubt but by Consent and Agreement they might (upon the account mentioned) *Make* a new Constitution, and much more may they *Declare* the Constitution of it.

It should be declared then, in such a Bill or Act, That the Church of *England* consists of the King as the Head, or *Pars imperans*, who (in his *Legislative* Capacity, as incorporated with his *Lords* and *Commons*) is to give *Laws* thereto, and all the several Assemblies of Christians which he shall tolerate, as the *pars subdita*, or Body.

Some Discrimination between the *Tolerable* and *Intolerable*, is indeed never to be gainsaid by any wise and good man, unto whom there is no Liberty can be desirable, which is not consistent with these three things, the *Articles* of our *Creed*, a *Good Life*, and the Fundamental Government of the *Kingdom*.

It is not for any private Persons, but a Parliament, with a Convocation, to prescribe the Terms of National Communion; but we would have all our Assemblies that are tolerable, to be declared Legal by such an Act, and thereby Parts of

of the National Church, as well as the Parochial Congregations.

The Church here therefore must come under a double consideration, as the Church of *Christ*, and as the Church of *England*. Take the Church as the Church of *Christ*, and there must be (as we have said at first) endless Controversy about this point, who are the true Members of it (and who the Officers, whether Bishops or no): But take it under the Consideration as *National*, and there will be none at all, for those must be Members (and those Officers) whom the Head by a Law does allow to be parts of the Body, and the King under this Notion only is made Head of the Church by the *Statute*, that is, as it called *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

The *Dissenters* of all sorts (not excepting the Roman Catholics) as well as *Conformists*, will acknowledge the King to be Supream Coercive Governour over all Persons, and in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, throughout his Dominions, and will not stand out perhaps if more be required. Again, the Dissenters of all sorts even the Congregationalists of every Sect, are ready to submit to any Power Legally derived from the King, and upon such an account will admit of a Superintendency of the Bishops, as Ecclesiastical Magistrates under him, when they cannot own any Authority, that they have over other Ministers, from Jesus Christ; and will not Papists also be Subject to all Authority that is exercised Legally in his Name, howsoever they may question the Spiritual Title of the English Clergy, and their Succession?

We would have Bishops then (*qua Bishops* as distinct in Office from *Priests*) declared no other by *Law* than the *Kings* Officers, whose Power is but *Objectively* Ecclesiastical, and to Act *Circa sacra* onely, by vertue of his Authority, whether they have any Authority else from the *Gospel* than so, so long as they have this by *Law*, it need not at all be toucht.

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As *Jehosaphat* did commit the charge incumbent upon him, as Supream Magistrate, in regard to all *Matters of the Lord*, unto the care of *Amariah* being *Chief Priest*, and in regard to the *Kings Matters* unto *Zachariah*, being as the *Chief Justice* of the Realm : So should the Diocesan Bishop be in our *Ecclesiastical*, as the Judges are in *Civil* matters, the substitutes altogether of his Majesty, and execute his Jurisdiction.

This is indeed a State-Point, which was thoroughly canvassed by *Henry the Eighth*, whose Divines did agree on two Orders alone *Priest* and *Deacon*, to be of *Divine* Appointment, and that the Superiority of a Bishop over a *Presbyter*, or of one Bishop over another, was but by the *Positive* Laws of Men onely, as appears in that Authentick book then put out, entituled, *The Necessary Erudition* : And consequently, that the Bishop could not have, or Exert any Jurisdiction over the Subject unless warranted, and derived from the King, without danger of a *Premunire* ; which made *Bonner* (with others) hold his Bishoprick by *Commission*. *Ambo tenent unum eundemq; Ordinem*, say *Elfrick's Canons* in *Lambard's Saxon Laws*.

Upon this ground, if it should please his Majesty to Chuse some Persons of the *Dissenters* to this Office, Authorizing them to it no otherwise, than by a like *Commission* (which they should also hold, with the Judges, *Quam diu se bene gesserint*) : As none of them could scruple then the acceptance, so must a Union from that day forward Commence in *England*.

We are sensible unto what distress, the Ministers of a Particular Congregation of all sorts may be brought in the Exercise of Discipline over some Potent, Turbulent and Refractory Members ; and what relief he might find in such an External Ecclesiastical Officer as this : We are sensible how many inconveniences of Congregational Episcopacy, may by this means onely, be salved.

Their work in general should be, to supervise the Churches of all parties in their Dioecesses, that they walk according to their own Principles, in due order, agreeable to the Gospel, and the Peace of one another; whether in the Assemblies of the Brethren, or Synods of their Pastors for Mutual Communion: And more particularly in the observance of all Laws and Limitations, Rules or Canons, which the King as Supreme Head shall by advice of a Convocation, and the Consent of his three Estates in Parliament, make on purpose (as the greatest work to be considered), and impose upon them all, with respect both to the publick Emolument, and the safety of his own Person, Dignity, and Dominions.

For example: Suppose this to be one Canon or Injunction, That no *Young*, but such as are *Grave* men only among the *Sects*, be admitted to be *Teachers*. Nor a *No-vice*, lest he fall into the condemnation of the Devil. Another this: That all *Conventicles* be kept open, as the Churches are, for any to come and hear that will, that no Sedition be there hatched or broached. If all prophecy, and there come in one that believeth not, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all, and the Secrets of his Heart being made manifest, he will fall down and worship, and report, that God is with you of a Truth. Another this: That when there is occasion for the Meetings of the Ministers of several Churches for Consultation in any weighty Affair among the Tolerated and United Brethren, the Bishop shall have cognizance of the Cause, to authorize the Meeting. For this cause *leave thee* at Creete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting. Another, in regard to the Conformists, this, That Bishop and Ministers shall reside alwaies where their Flock is, unless upon unavoidable occasions. And say to Archippus, Take heed to the Ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfill it. One more, this: That whereas no man can be an Allowed or Licensed Preacher, but he must subscribe the Articles of the Church, and those that do subscribe ordinarily, are men of diverse Judgments, such as *Arminians* and *Calvinists*, who cannot, and do not, subscribe both of them in the same sense:

It should be declared in a Canon, as allowed by the Church

That these Articles are to be subscribed only in a * *Dogmat*al, not the *Authentick* Interpretation. Let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind.

I mention these 4 or 5 things instead of many, to be the Canonical Matter of such Impositions, as may be found fit to be laid, some on all, some on some Persons, not needful for others; and it is *Time*, and the *Trial*, and *Experience* which must be the Mother to bring them forth, and cultivate them after, to their best advantage.

* *Interpretatio est triplex, Authentica, qua fit auctoritate illius, qui ponit legem condere: Usualis, qua fit consuetudine: Dogmatialis, qua fit per doctrinam, & auctoritate interpretum.* Suar. De Legibus, l. 6. c. 1. There are many conscientiously learned, who, because they are scrupulous into some points, more than others, they cannot subscribe them so easily as others, and this would be a great Relief both to the

Conformists of that sort, and *Dissenters*, in regard to this one thing which still pinches in the *Act* for *Liberty*. The truth is, all Impositions are to be taken in the Sense of the Imposers, and when that Sense which was intended by the Convocation that compiled these Articles, is the only true, genuine, authentick Sense or Meaning of them, there is no man, in good earnest, that is called to subscribe the Articles, but he is seriously to consider what he judges in his Conscience to have been *Their* Meaning, and if he can subscribe them in that Sense, he is to do it; if he cannot, he is to forbear. This being so hard a Chapter, it is fit the Church should put in, and declare, that that Sense, whereof a man can hardly be sure even so far as to act in Faith, is not the Sense she imposes; but that any other may suffice, which in a literal Construction can be made good, whether of the Subscriber's own, or of any Judicious Explicitor.

To the making such Canons we humbly motion a third Clerk for the Convocation, to be added to the two in every Diocese, and chose out of the *Dissenters* with indifferent respect to all sorts of them, that mutual Satisfaction and Concord may thereby be prosecuted with Unanimity of Heart and Good-will through all the Churches: And the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York* should unite in this Convocation for the making them one *National Church*, and not two *Provincial* ones, in a diverse Assembly. The continuance of two Provinces with a separate Government in either, is inconsistent with one National Political Society, and keeps the

Saddle on both, for the French Popery at least, if not the Pope of *Rome*, to get up again upon us.

If a temporary Vicar-General were made by the King every Convocation, by whose Authority, delegated to him over both Provinces to that purpose, the Members of both were to be convened; and if when any business of moment were on the Anvil, no man but one, herein truly noble, as excelling others in Learning and Virtue, (such a one as Mr. *Boyle*), might be chosen, by whose Conduct and Moderation things might be carried better than they have sometimes been: Who does not see, but this might be for advantage to the Affairs of Religion? The Council of *Nice* had not done so well as it did, had not *Constantine* supervised them.

Government consists in Legislation and Judgment. The Supreme Power of this Kingdom, as to the exercise hereof, lies not (We know) in the King alone, but in the King and his Parliament. The whole *Body* of the Nation are to be accounted in their *Representatives* to meet the *Head*, and the Laws to be made by the *Whole*, whereby our Birthright of being a *Free State* or *Free People* is maintained. The Absolute Supreme Power therefore of this *Kingdom of England* must lye in Kings, Lords, and Commons, as unified in a Corporation; and the House of Lords as virtually so unified is the Highest Judicatory. As for the Supreme Power then of the *Church of England*, the Power of making Canons, and of judging in Ecclesiastical Causes as to the last Appeal, it does in like manner not lye in the Bishops only, but in the King thus incorporated, and a Convocation. Every Parish-Church in the Land is to be accounted by its Pastor to chuse its Representative in this Convocation. Every particular Church which is tolerated, or shall be tolerated by Law, is thereby made part of the National, and must therefore have the same Right with the Parochial Congregations. Let thus much be declared, and upon this Foundation (whereof a First-stone was laid before) will this great Union which we do go about to build, be reared, and irrefragably upheld. For, if the Persons that represent their Churches are united in one *Assembly*, then must those
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Churches that are represented be supposed as united in one *Body*. It is, as Members of one National Society that they chuse their Representatives for the making up this *Convocation*, which is the Church of *England* in *Representation*. If we look into our Antiquaries, and old Historians, we shall find, That before the *Conquest* (at least under the *Saxons*) our Parliaments and Clergy were still one Assembly, and no Canons made, but by both together, Which ancient usage manifestly proves the nature of a *Parliament* to be the measure of a *Convocation*.

Let me add, as to this Supreme Power of the Keys mentioned, That the Subject thereof is the whole Church, as we shall find it proved by our Divines, such as Bishop *Andrews* against the Papiſts, from that only place for the Institution of *Discipline* (Other Texts speak (say they) of the Keys of *Doctrin*), *Tell the Church*; that is, a *Particular Church*, which a National Church (unless distinguished) is, for the *Universal Church* cannot be *told*. Now, the *King* being one, and the chief one in the Church as National, and the Power lying in the *whole*, *He*, (he in his *Vicar*) together with the *Convocation*, representing the whole, must have this Power residing in him with them: Although, as the *Legislative Power* of the *Kingdom* lies in the *Lords* and *Commons* with the *King*, yet the *Executive Power* lies in him only; so the *Legislative Power* of the Church lies in him with the *Convocation*, yet the *Executive* in the *Bishops* only. No Church-Execution by the Sword-bearer, but the Key-bearer; and no Penalty by Canon, but Rebuke and Excommunication.

To return; By this means shall one Organ more be added to this great Political Society, for deriving an Influence from the Head to these Parts of the Body as well as others, which now seem neglected, and to have no care taken of them.

The grand and more especial Business of such an equally-modell'd Convocation, should be the revising the Book of Canons for the reversing the main Body of them, having been fitted to that narrow Scantling, which is unworthy the Church of *England*, and for the leaving only those, and making new, (as we have exemplified in some for instance

instance sake before) which do, or will be made to suit to that larger Constitution thereof, intended by this Paper.

And having said now thus much for Explanation of this Design, we must say some little also in favour of it.

The Design of such a National Accommodation as this, shall *advance*, not *lessen* the outward Power and Honour of the *Bishop*, extending it over those who before had no conscientious Regard for their Function; while yet it would ease them of the tremendous Burthen of such a *Cura animarum* they take on them otherwise, as must be of impossible performance.

This Design (which is supposed to find us in our Divisions, and not to make any) shall by little and little (with God's Blessing on it) cool Animosities, and enkindle Charity and Holiness among all Parties, which now is so much wanting, while those that are *Catholicks*, and those that are *Protestants*, and much more those that are *Conformists*, and those that are *Nonconformists*, do agree in the Substance of one Christianity, having the same Scriptures, the same Articles of Faith in the three Creeds, and the same Rule of Manners in the Decalogue. *There is one Body, one Spirit, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.* They cannot indeed have all Communion in the same External Worship, but they can have it in the Internal Adoration of the same Blessed Trinity, and in one Hope of our calling unto Eternal Life, through Christ Jesus. They must separate into several Congregations, but there shall be no *Schism* in the *Body* by this means, for all that.

For, as while the Supreme Power allowed only Parochial Meetings, as established by Law, it hath been accounted Schism to go to separate Assemblies: So the Scene being altered, and these *separate* Congregations also made *Legal*, this *Schism*, or *Mens* being called *Schismatics*, in that regard, must vanish, and be at an end. Indeed, these diverse Congregations will accuse one another as guilty of Sin and Schism before God, for each separating from the others Communion, and threaten *His* Judgment: But so long as there is no separating from the *Church* whereof the.

the King is *Head*, while he tolerates the Meetings of both, and makes them Parts of it as National, there shall be no Prosecution of Law against any, but all quiet, as Fellow-Members upon that account.

Only, as to the *Catholics*, (as they call themselves) we must consider, there are many of them that have received such Principles, as that they cannot swear to the Supremacy of the King, and so are incapable of this National Order with others (it being an inconsistent thing to disown the *Head*, and yet be of the *Body*) and these are to be accounted therefore as *without*, that is, *out of the Church*, who yet (as the *Jews* do) may live in the *Land*: And there are many, it is like, that can swear to the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy (it being rational to think they may do that now, which in *Henry the Eighth's* Reign they once did) and will submit too to every thing else required to the rendering them *tolerable*, and these are to be dealt with as *within*, who yet are not to imagin for all that, that a Protestant King and Parliament should allow of their *Mass* in Publick, as they do the *Service-Book*. This were not to tolerate the *Papists*, but to set up Popery; whereas the determining what is to be permitted to one Party, and what to another, so as no Detriment may be brought to the Church or State, and no Sin or Guilt upon the Nation by that Permission, is a nicer thing, and requires the weighty Debate of a *Convocation* (if not more than one) before it be handed to a *Parliament*.

There is one Motion farther should be added, and that is for another Bill also to be brought in for the preventing, and taking away two things, which are the Pests of the Conforming Clergy; the one is *Simony*, and to be done effectually by the imposing only the Simoniackal Oath on the *Patrons* of all Benefices, as well as on the *Incumbents*. The other is *Pluralities*, we mean both of *Living*s and *Dignities*, impartially, to this end, that the King may have wherewithal to engage those he receives into the Church thus enlarged, and consequently restores to their Labours by this

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Accommodation, for that is a thing will make the Favour indeed significant to such persons.

We will conclude with one Argument for what we have proposed. There is no Power given upon Earth for any man to command that which he in his Conscience does judge to be Sin: *Non datur potestas ad malum.* But to Conform in all things to the present Church according to Law, is Sin in the Judgment of *Dissenters, Catholics,* and others, and the late King was a *Dissenter* of one sort himself. The King therefore that was so lately, could not really put the Roman-Catholicks upon Conformity, and if he would appear equal to all People, he could not put any other Dissenters on it neither, for the same cause. That which the Law requires, was both in his Conscience and in theirs, a thing prohibited of God. He could not therefore put the Laws in execution being against God. And if he could not do it acting only but as an honest man, that abides by his Principles, we have no reason to apprehend, that the King and Queen we have now should be ever brought to do it, mangre all the Enticements of the Church of *England*, or Frowns of the Church of *Rome*.

F I N I S.